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The Genesis of Pan-Africanism: A Historical Perspective

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ABSTRACT: Pan-Africanism is a movement to secure human rights, self-government, independence, and unity for all African peoples. The spirit of solidarity and collaboration among African societies is ages old, fading and flourishing from one century to the next. Pan-Africanism emerged once again at the end of the eighteenth century as an anti-slavery and anti-colonial movement. Its appeal was both indigenous and international. Africans saw their land invaded by European powers, a scenario that sparked resistance. The African struggle for freedom coincided with anti-slavery sentiments in Europe and America, among other regions. In its original form, Pan-Africanism had a wider scope than the geographic continent. It encompassed the African diaspora and descendants worldwide. Seeking to unify the African people into a single community, Pan-Africanism grew and changed over time, each century adding to its richness and passing on its legacy to the next. An ethnic, economic, political, and social mosaic, Africa has struggled with an ambition for a united continent while at the same time being conscious of the deep divisions within her borders. Along with the vision of oneness are the conflicting demands by Africa's sovereign states and regions, involving a mix of stakeholders—policymakers, national legislatures, and citizens of independent countries. Still, for all its twists and turns, the movement embodies a vision of Africa liberated and united, right up to the present day.

KEYWORDS: *Pan-Africanism; Slavery; Colonialism; African Union; African independence; African American abolitionists.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The Seeds of Pan-Africanism
The 18th century was a period of extraordinary events and accomplishments for Africans who united to revolt against slavery. It was a time of political turmoil: America's declaration of independence in 1776; the French Revolution in 1789; Napoleon Bonaparte's ascent to power in France in 1799; and the Haitian Revolution that created the first independent black state, coinciding with Napoleon's loss of power.

The Pan-African movement started, according to Adi Hakim and Marika Sherwood, with Africans who were closest to the slave trade at the time (Hakim & Sherwood, 2003). Most had been slaves themselves and had firsthand witness of the kidnapping, purchase, shipping, and enslavement of Africans. Whether Anglophone or Francophone, in their writings, speeches, and political activities, they were familiar with the British, French, and American abolitionists. They drew from the French libertarian thought known as the Enlightenment in a campaign against the slave trade. An understanding of the importance of education, and its place in the liberation struggle, was a key hallmark of the movement throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. This is evident in the lives and writings of its leaders.

While no short account can cover the careers of all pioneer Pan-Africanists of that era, some political figures stand out. The lives of the early African abolitionists were diverse. They reflected their talents, social circumstances, and luck, good or bad.

The pioneers of African unity, national independence, and the abolition of slavery never adopted the name ―Pan-Africanists‖. The title only came into use in the early 1900s. The Pan-Africanists were genuinely engaging in ideas and activities that celebrated the African spirit. They fiercely resisted the exploitation and oppression of, and racism against, Africans. Through unity, Pan-Africanism "can be forged into an economic, social, and political destiny" (Adetula, et al., 2020).

The 18th Century Pan-Africanists
Olaudah Equiano was a slave trader. He was born in 1745 in the village of Essaka, Eboe (Igbo) region of the Kingdom of Benin (today's southern Nigeria) (Equiano, 1889). His autobiography, published under his twin surnames Equiano and Vassa in London in 1789, had an immediate impact in abolitionist circles in Britain and

America. His literary style was polished and polemic, though whether his story of early life was entirely accurate is open to question.

First published in London in 1789, his book, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, is among the earliest examples of early African writing in English. There were eight English and one American edition, followed by ten more editions, including translations into Dutch, German, and Russian (Equiano, 1999). In the narrative, Olaudah Equiano describes how he was kidnapped at the age of 11 along with his sister, sold by local slave traders, and shipped across the Atlantic to Barbados and then Virginia. He was one of the founders of the slave narrative genre, influencing other slave memoirs, including the autobiography of Frederick Douglas a century later.

Frederick Douglass was an African American abolitionist, writer, and statesman. It is believed that he was born in February 1817 in Maryland (Douglas, 1885-1895). After escaping from slavery, he became a leader of the abolitionists and a prolific writer on antislavery. He later became an advisor to President Lincoln and served as the United States' diplomatic representative in Haiti and the Dominican Republic (Douglas, 1885-1895). In 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes nominated him as the marshal of the District of Columbia (Kennedy, R. 2018). Douglass was a prolific writer. He published three outstanding memoirs: *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845), *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855), and *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881) (Kennedy, 2018).

Following the Civil War, Douglass was an active campaigner for the rights of freed slaves. He wrote his last autobiography, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass,* during this time. A skilled and eloquent abolitionist, he spent two years—and won an international reputation—touring England, Scotland, and Ireland. His autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Fredrick Douglass, an American Slave*, first published in 1845, became almost immediately a bestseller, perhaps the most famous of American slave narratives. In 1847, he started a newspaper, the *North Star*, which he edited alongside Martin Delany before it became the *Fredrick Douglass' Paper*, and later the *Douglass' Monthly* (Douglass, 1995). The first African American to own a publishing house, Dougl assumed his position to advance the cause of women's emancipation in the United States, urging African Americans to join the fight for women's suffrage.

W.E.B. Du Bois was one of the most influential Pan-African intellectuals of the era. A writer and political activist, his historical research covered the African slave trade in America. His Harvard doctoral dissertation, "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in the United States of America, 1638-1850," which was published as a book in 1896, connected two continents (Du Bois, 1896). In 1897, with Alexander Crummell, he contributed to the establishment of the American Negro Academy, which, as part of the political agenda, emphasized the need for African Americans to pursue higher education.

Together with other African American leaders, he founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and, in his chosen role as a propagandist, urged its members to engage in political protests and agitation for civil rights. His advocacy for an intellectual core of African Americans that would provide political leadership, the "Talented Tenth", drew fire from Marcus Garvin, a Jamaican, who sharply accused him of elitism, even though Du Bois supported the education of youth at all levels.

Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, also known as John Stuart, was born in 1757 in the Fante village of Ajumain modern Ghana. At the age of 13, he was kidnapped by African raiders and sold to European slave traders, who transported him to Granada in the Caribbean. In 1772, an English merchant purchased him and took him to England, where he was baptized in London's St. James' Church as John Stuart. It is not known how Cugoano obtained his freedom, whether by running away or through the action of his owner. But certainly, he arrived in England after the legal decision of Lord Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice of England, whereby both marriage and baptism appeared to be a means to reinforce freedom from slavery (Hakim & Sherwood, 2003). While the Mansfield decision did not end slavery in England, it undermined the institution of slavery, which was already under attack from liberated slaves and intense pressure from the abolitionists.

Whatever informed his freedom, Cugoano used his liberty and religion to further the abolitionist cause, later joining the Sons of Africa, an association of African abolitionists. He was one of the earliest African writers who, with the backing of political and cultural figures, denounced the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the plight of Africans in slavery. His *Thoughts and Sentiments*, published in 1787, greatly influenced the antislavery movement in Britain and America (Cugoano, 1999). In the 1791 edition of his book, Cugoano stated his intention to open a school "for all such of his complexity as are desirous of being acquainted with the knowledge of the Christian religion and the laws of civilization." This ambition may have stemmed from the racism he experienced in England and a desire to work abroad, although he later pointed out that his sole motivation was that he found several of his countrymen in England without this knowledge. Little is known about Cugoano's later life.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, perhaps the most remarkable of all anti-slavery Africans in the 18th century, was born in 1743 in a French colony on the island of Saint-Domingue. He spent his life working for the freedom of enslaved Africans (Hakim & Sherwood, 2003). The colony had a long history. Christopher Columbus landed on the island in 1492 and named it Santo Domingo during his search for the riches of the East. The territory was soon settled by the Spaniards, and then by the French, who gained control of the eastern part of the island. The French became the acknowledged rulers of the island in 1697. By the time L'Ouverture was born, among all of France's possessions, St. Domingue produced the most wealth and was ruled directly by France. Free blacks, many of whom owned plantations, and slaves, lacked full citizenship rights. They ranked lower in the social hierarchy than whites.

One of eight children born to an enslaved African couple on a plantation, L'Ouverture was fortunate to have a father who, though a slave, was very privileged. As the son of well-to-do parents, L'Ouverture gained a sound education in both French and Latin, thanks to his godfather, Pierre Baptiste, a slave working at a nearby hospital run by the Fathers of Charity. In time, L'Ouverture became a Catholic, married and became an estate manager. His life began to take a different course—local and then national—at the onset of the French revolution, the abolishment of the monarchy in 1792, and the execution of Louis XVI the next year. In 1973, the Reign of Terror swept through France after royalist uprisings and military reversals.

At first, Toussaint L'Ouverture stood on the sidelines. He later joined the royalist faction before switching sides. An astute politician and military strategist, he gained control of central Saint Domingue. A historic speech to rally the blacks confirmed his role as leader of the revolution, but in 1749, the capital, Port-au Prince, fell to the British, challenging his supremacy. It took L'Ouverture four more years to defeat them and win control of the entire country. A peace treaty permitted the British forces to leave and promised the neutrality of St. Domingue while Britain went to war with France. A secret clause of the treaty permitted the exchange of St. Domingue products for British and American goods.

After that war, the French Assembly confirmed emancipation but sought to retain control over the colony. Making matters worse, St. Domingue faced a Spanish invasion and internal uprisings. The years that followed were a period of confusion and chaos. France fought for domination, while Spain, Britain, and North America were intrigued at different times either with or against L'Ouverture. To establish order in a divided country, L'Ouverture set up an Assembly in 1801, which abolished slavery, preserved planters' rights to their land, and established municipal government. L'Ouverture was made governor-for-life, with the authority to name his successor. He established a civil and military administration. Courts of law and appeal processes were instituted, and taxation systematized. In a politically and socially divided country, he imposed standards of personal responsibility and industry, public social morality, education, and religious toleration, racial equality, and free trade.

Meanwhile, in France, Napoleon Bonaparte, by a coup d'état, overthrew the country's executive power, the Directory, destroying its democratic principles and its anti-slavery movement. Declaring himself First Consul of the French Republic (and eventually Monarch), he restored the pre-revolution status of white rule, with immediate consequences for the colonies. When Napoleon sent a massive force under Charles Leclerc to increase French control, L'Ouverture resisted. He joined the Haitian revolution and, by 1791, wasits leader. A military strategist, he transformed the entire society of slaves into a free, self-governing people. He did not live to see his dream of emancipating black people in control of a free country. In 1802 he was lured to a conference by Leclerc, arrested as a common criminal, and shipped to France where he died of consumption in an isolated cell, high in the French Alps. His demise notwithstanding, the rebellion continued under his lieutenant, Jean Jacques Dessalines (Hakim and Sherwood, 2003). Britain was once more at war, weakening France's military power. On January 1, 1804, Dessalines declared the independence of St. Domingue and renamed it Haiti.

The Collapse of the Colonial System

Empires take years to build. When they collapse, they are sorely missed by the empire builders. After the Second World War, Winston Churchill vowed not to preside over the dissolution of the British Empire, and the French colonial administration in Africa declared there would be no self-government in its colonies, not even in the distant future (Adamolekun, 1993). As it turned out, the French colonial countries of Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco were the first to prove the French forecast wrong. Next to gain independence were the British colonies.

In Africa, turning the tables took half a century, beginning in the 1950s with the Arab-influenced North African countries in the lead, and the final victory of self-rule in the late 1900s when apartheid was abolished in South Africa and Namibia (Schraeder, 2004). Libya gained independence in 1951 to become the United Libyan Kingdom. Tunisia declared independence in 1956.

The independence process of Morocco stretched over four years, but in 1956, the French-Morocco Agreement was signed, granting Morocco independence, as did Spain the same year. Besides the three North African countries of Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco, the former British colonies attained independence in the early years of the African liberation: Sudan in 1956, the Gold Coast (Ghana) in 1957, and the French colony of Guinea in 1958. During the 1960s, another thirty African countries became independent (Hargreaves, 1996). The majority of these were former British and French colonies in East, Central, and West Africa. All three Belgian colonies—Burundi,

Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Congo-Kinshasa)—achieved independence during this period, as did the Republic of Somalia, which represented a federation of the former British and Italian Somaliland territories. The decolonization process in the 1960s was, for the most part, peaceful, although with some notable exceptions, which included France's failed attempt to defeat pro-independence guerrilla warfare in Algeria and the Mau Mau guerrilla insurgency in Kenya.

Spanning the 19th and 20th centuries

This era saw the emergence of a group of African activists, writers, and scholars. Their influence stretched beyond individual countries into the international arena. Some lived and died in the nineteenth century, such as Frederick Douglass, Martin Delany, and Africanus Beale Horton. Their activities and scholarship were taken over by others during their lifetime. These next-generation pan-Africanists were numerous. They include those who were dedicated to the social and political emancipation of African peoples, their descendants, and the diaspora. Notable among these were George Padmore, Nathaniel Fadipe, Edward Wilmot Blyden, and W.E.B. Du Bois. By incorporating African descendants and the diaspora, they expanded the goals of the eighteenth-century African abolitionists, demanded the abolition of colonialism across the globe, and endorsed aggressive African nationalism (Blyden, 1857).

Blyden and Fadipe were supporters of West African nationalism, which they combined with a Pan African ideology (Hakim, 1998). Fadipe, moreover, argued that higher education was necessary for both East and West Africa. The 1865 research by James Africanus Beale Horton, a physician, scientist, and writer, challenged, purely on scientific grounds, the demeaning attitude of the white elite, both in West Africa and Britain (Horton, 1969). His intellectual, scientific, and social reasoning were a shining light for the scientific community in Britain, America, and, closest to his heart, Africa.

Casely Hayford, a writer, lawyer, and politician, followed in the footsteps of Horton in 1911 with the publication of *Ethiopia Unbound: Studies in Race Emancipation* (Hayford, 1911). The Ethiopian research, like Horton's before him, prompted the publication of other books, studies, and documentaries combatting racism in countries around the world.

French Colonial History and Guinean Independence

Guiney was part of the regional kingdom of Ghana, Songhai, and Mali. French Guinea (Guinéefrançaise) was established in 1891, taking the same borders as the previous colony of Rivières du Sud. Before that, the coastal portions of French Guinea were part of the French colony of Senegal. In 1891, Rivières du Sud was placed under the colonial lieutenant governor of Dakar, who had authority over the French coastal regions to the east as far as Porto-Novo (modern Benin).

Another territorial division occurred in 1894 when Rivières du Sud, Cote d'Ivoire, and Dahomey were separated into "independent" colonies; Rivières du Sud was renamed the Colony of French Guinea. The next year, 1895, French Guinea was made a dependent colony. In 1904, this was formalized as the Afrique OccidentaleFrançaise, through which French Guinea (now Guinea), Dahomey (now Benin), French Sudan (now Mali), Cote d'Ivoire, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) were all ruled by separate lieutenant governors under the principal Governor-General in Dakar.

The post-World War II colonial policy led to a groundswell of political opposition and, in 1947, the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG) was formed under the leadership of Ahmed Sékou Touré, who pushed aggressively for independence. The occasion of the break with France was the country's negative vote in 1958 against the confirmation of French sovereignty, which limited autonomy to Guinea and the other French colonies. Guinea was alone in taking the option of complete independence rather than retaining membership of the French Community—an association known as "La Communité"—which had replaced the French Union in 1946. The immediate French response to Guinea's vote was to withdraw from the country all government aid, as well as administrative personnel and advisors. The withdrawal of French technical personnel had a devastating effect on the new nation's struggling economy (Guinea, 2012). By 1960, all former colonial territories had become independent republics.

Sékou Touré automatically became president upon the establishment of the Guinean Republic in 1958. A year later, Touré declared Guinea's independence a "revolution," a sharp leftist turn later defended in his Tome *13: L'Afrique et la Révolution* (Touré, 1960). Touré claimed that his revolutionary militancy and vigilance were necessary to prevent the Guinean bourgeois compromise from turning into a full-blown national bourgeoisie (Johnson, 1993). The move from a People's Democracy to a National Democracy was, on Touré's part, an attempt to prevent the emergence of antagonist social classes by crushing the national bourgeoisie at the first instance of its emergence. Touré denied the charge of socialism while stifling all intra- and extra-party challenges to his power. Whatever the rhetoric, Guinea remained a one-party presidential regime until a military coup on April 3, 1984.

A multi-party constitution was approved by referendum in 2008, providing for a five-year transition to civilian government. Following the suspension of the constitution by another military coup in 2008, the country had to wait two more years until Guinea's Supreme Court finally restored constitutional order in December 2010 (Guinea, 2012).

Independence Movement in the British Colonies

Until 1946, the British government, in collaboration with the Egyptian government, administered South Sudan and North Sudan as separate regions. In 1954—again with Egyptian agreement—the two areas were merged into a single administrative region. This, as part of Britain's Middle East policy, was enacted by the British parliament. The act, however, was taken without consultation with southern Sudan.

Muslims, with an Arabic cultural orientation, mostly inhabit the north. In the sub-Saharan South, Christians, and animists, who feared being subsumed by the political power of the north, opposed integration. Under a provisional constitution of 1956 and with the consent of both Egypt and Britain, Sudan achieved full independence in 1956. The constitution, however, was silent on two crucial issues—the secular status or religious character of countries and their federal or unitary structure—leading to Sudan's civil war, or the Anyanya rebellion that lasted from 1955 to 1972.

The roots of the Gold Coast independence movement stretch back to the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS), an association critical of colonial rule, formed in 1897 (Berry, 1994). These nationalists, however, claimed loyalty to the British Crown even as they pressed their demand for elected representation instead of a system where the governor appointed council leaders. Far from rebellion, they compromised on an extension of British political rule while forcibly arguing for a fuller awareness and appreciation of African cultural values and practices.

Notable among its African leaders were Africanus Horton, J.M. Sarbah, and S.R.B. Attah-Ahoma. ARPS's membership consisted of an educated elite—a nationalist trend that retained its distinctly elitist flavour into the late 1940s. The association laid the foundation for political action that would ultimately lead to independence. In 1920, Joseph E. Casely-Hayford, one of the African members of Ghana's Legislative Council, convened the National Congress of British West Africa, which sent a delegation to London to urge the Colonial Office to recognize the principle of elected representation. The group claimed to speak for all British West African colonies. The Colonial Office refused to receive the delegation because it represented only the interests of a small group of urbanized Africans.

The group could lay claim to being the first expression of political solidarity in West Africa between intellectuals and nationalists, which, in general, came to characterize African nationalism. In Ghana, the full maturing of nationalism was evident after the Second World War, a period coinciding with Britain's general malaise over the cost of colonial government. Holding onto colonial rule was no longer a priority when faced with rioting in Accra and other towns over issues of pensions for Ghanaian ex-servicemen, the dominant role of foreigners in the economy, the housing shortage, and other social and economic grievances. Veterans, along with discontented urban dwellers, formed the nucleus of those ready for decisive action. Cacao farmers, who resented the fact that the end of the war was not accompanied by economic empowerment, joined them. In 1957, the state of Ghana, named after the medieval West African Empire, became the first independent country within the Commonwealth of Nations.

Kenya came under British control in the late 19th century. In 1920, it was organized inland as a colony and along the coast as a protectorate. The years following the Second World War were marked by armed conflict, political rivalry, and ethnic and racial discord, intensified by the Mau Mau uprising of 1952–1956. Formal independence was not attained until December 1963. The year in May, Jomo Kenyatta from the Kikuyu tribe, who had previously been imprisoned and exiled on suspicion of leading the Mau Mau insurgency, became Prime Minister (Kenya, 2012). This assured the predominant position of the Kenya African National Union (KANU). Upon the adoption of a republican form of government a year later, in December 1964, he became the country's first president. That year, the principal opposition party, the Kenyan African Democratic Party (KADU), merged with KANU. However, a new opposition party, Kenya's People's Union (KPU), emerged under the leadership of Oginga Ajuma Odinga, causing a minor split in the ruling party. Both President Kenyatta and Vice President Daniel Arap Moi, a member of the Kalenjin ethnic group, were reelected unopposed in September 1974. When Kenyatta died in August 1978, Moi, being the sole KANU candidate, was declared president to complete the remainder of Kenyatta's five-year term.

The chronology of political events is plain, but the violence that characterized Kenya's struggle for independence and its causes are clouded by competing accounts and interpretations. Much of the contention centres around the Mau Mau insurgency and the role it played in Kenya's liberation. According to David Anderson, the issue is best understood by considering Africa's political and economic concerns over the three decades leading up to the Mau Mau rebellion (Anderson, 2005).

Two major issues dominated the early 1930s: the need to secure effective elected African representation, and the question of land ownership. A bone of contention had been the seizure of land by Europeans in the early days of

colonial rule in Kenya. At first, there was little opposition to the intrusion (colonial occupation was new), but from the 1930s onward, the hardening of the settler farm boundaries combined with an African population increase quickly revealed the consequences of landlessness in central Kenya. For the Kikuyu, land hunger became a crucial political grievance. Compounding the African resentment was the low level of African wages, which was kept that way by Kenya's white settlers eager to supply the international market with competitive agricultural produce.

There were considerable disagreements within the African communities. By the 1950s, three distinct political blocks had emerged, each with different interests and agendas. Anderson (2005) identifies the first as the conservative Kikuyu block, comprised principally of powerful landowners and businessmen, an elite class that tended to side with the political establishment in pursuance of their wealth and status. The second was the moderate nationalists, largely an urban group, relatively prosperous, educated, and professional.

By the 1940s, moderate Kikuyu nationalists who favoured pan-ethnic political alliances were active in the struggle for elected representation. The third block was the militant nationalists who emerged in the 1930s, and whose politics two decades later would shape the Mau Mau. Their strategy was to mobilize cultural nationalism, championing the interests of those excluded by social and economic changes within the Kikuyu society.

The growing landlessness and the traditional obligation of the Kikuyu elders to provide for those without access to land bolstered the cause of the militant nationalists, who gained the support of the younger generation of Kikuyus that had been evicted from European farms, and that of the urban workers and the unemployed. As time passed, the more prosperous Kikuyus started to sympathize with the aims of the militant nationalists, although they were dismayed by Mau Mau's violence. In *Histories of the Hanged*, Anderson explains the dilemma of the Kikuyu nationalists (Anderson, 2005):

―As time went on, a growing number of the more prosperous Kikuyu came to sympathize with the cause of the militant nationalists. The struggle over power between these three groups was not entirely class based but was in large part framed by an understanding of the character, essential qualities, and values of Kikuyu life. At root, these were ideological debates about the kind of society in which Kikuyu would live. Kikuyu politics under colonial rule was therefore a cockpit of complex internecine struggle long before it was reduced and polarized by the Mau Mau war. And these earlier struggles would play an important role in defining the positions people adopted in that war. The earlier history of grievance and political mobilization, therefore, matters a great deal (P.13).

John Lonsdale (1990) offers a more nuanced explanation of what the Mau Mau meant for those who witnessed the insurgency and understood its complexities. The facts and myths of Mau Mau were clouded in speculation and suspicion from the start, with Africans divided as much as the whites. Once the fighting began, incompatible views on the meaning of Mau Mau appeared in the white community (Lonsdale, 1990). The whites were united in damning Mau Mau's brutality and demanding its forcible suppression. But they were divided over the civil remedies.

In the ensuing war, race became a major stumbling block to a peaceful solution. Conservatives stressed the danger to civilization that African supremacy posed. In their view, race was the threat that would be best defended by insisting on the polemic divide between white civilization and black savagery. Steeped in colonial tradition and way of life, white settlers demanded a return to white supremacy and tribal discipline. Liberals, by contrast, believed in compromise while condemning the violence. This required some sharing of power between the races, as represented by educated individuals, much in the image of Jomo Kenyatta.

Kenyatta, on his release from prison in 1961, was in a strong position to negotiate with the Kikuyu factions and the colonial government. He was at once a political liberal—a plus for whites looking for stability in troubled Kenya—and an African politician who retained his reputation as a freedom fighter. He was appealing to those weary of war. As general secretary of the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) in 1928, he campaigned for land reform and the political rights of Africans. When in England, he worked with other African students to promote the nationalist cause. In 1946, with Kwame Nkrumah, he founded the Pan-African Federation. Returning to Kenya the same year, he became president of the Kenya African Union. At the outbreak of the Mau Mau war in 1952, Kenyatta was imprisoned as an instigator of Mau Mau, a punishment that only raised his stature among Africans without affecting the military outcome.

On his release from prison, and when the combatants themselves had come to share the confusion of other Kenyans, Kenyatta outlawed the Mau Mau under the guise of public order, but also perhaps to calm white farmers and foreign investors. But he still had a more anxious audience—both black and white—with nowhere else to go. Most Kenyans, certainly household heads, were relieved to discover that Kenyatta was on the side of domestic order. By criminalizing Mau Mau, as he had tried to do a decade earlier, Kenyatta reasserted his authority to remake Kenya (Lonsdale, 1993).

Portuguese Colonies and Independence
Portuguese settlements were established in eastern Angola in the late 15th century, but the territorial boundaries were not formally recognized until the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885. In 1951, the colony of Angola became an Overseas Province of Portugal, making it an integral part of the Portuguese state. Guerrilla opposition to

colonial rule broke out in 1961 and continued for the next 13 years (Angola, 2011). The mid-1970s witnessed bitter agitation for independence and civil war between competing Angolan guerrilla groups over who would lead an independent Angola—Frente Nacional para a Libertaçao (FNLA), Uniao Nacional para an Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA), or Movimento Populaire de Libertaçaode Angola (MPLA).

A military coup d'état in Portugal by junior military officers in 1975 led to a declaration by the Portuguese government aimed at granting immediate independence to African colonies. After the coup, the Lisbon government was reluctant to support the last of its colonies. Portuguese East Africa won independence in 1975, taking the name Mozambique. Angola was granted independence amid civil war in 1975, and the Republic of Cape Verde was established that same year. Also gaining independence were the former French colonies of Comoros (1975), Seychelles (1976), and Djibouti (1977). Self-rule in these French territories was attained in a comparatively peaceful manner.

The Collapse of Apartheid

During the 1980s, the independence movement was principally directed towards the white-ruled regimes of Southern Africa. Of these countries—South Africa, Namibia, and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)—South Africa was the most resistant to the lack of black self-rule in its apartheid system. Opposing the white minority regimes were guerrilla organizations that, to varying degrees, enjoyed regional and international support. These included the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-African Congress (PAC) in South Africa; the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia; and the Zimbabwe African Nationalist Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) (Schraeder, 2004). In the three cases, the white minority regimes' military struggles were suspended while negotiations were conducted, eventually resulting in Zimbabwe's transition to black majority rule in 1980, Namibia's in 1990, and South Africa's in 1994.

Nelson Mandela's emergence as the first democratically elected leader in South Africa signaled the end of colonization on the African continent. The legal status of apartheid and white supremacy in South Africa ended in a flurry of negotiations in which the principal mediators were Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk, whose early careers gave no sign of reconciliation (Glad & Blanton, 1997).

When, in the early 1960s, Mandela was tried for acts of sabotage against the state, the prospects of South Africa's liberation were negligible. His spectacular defiance and unshaken commitment to his ideals cost him 27 years of imprisonment. Over his years in jail, Mandela became the personification of the struggle against apartheid. On the other hand, F.W. de Klerk came from a family that had played a key role in the National Party, which was responsible for establishing apartheid as a legal system in South Africa. As Education Minister from 1984-1989 under P.W. Botha, de Klerk forcefully upheld segregation in the school system. Ironically, it would fall to these two men, each with the backing of their supporters, to negotiate the fate of a country.

In the 1990s, South Africa seemed ready for a change. South Africa's National Party membership was at last open to all races. Parliament approved several important desegregation measures. It also rescinded many of the so-called "petty apartheid" laws, including the Separate Amenities Act that separated public facilities. In 1991, parliament passed legislation that repealed the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936—apartheid land policies favouring whites. Parliament overturned the Population Registration Act, which had set out guidelines for classifying all South Africans by race. What made progress possible was that Mandela and de Klerk shared the goal of stabilizing a multiracial democratic polity in a non-fragmented, economically viable, and orderly South Africa. The momentum of de Klerk's reform strengthened his hand with the reform-minded Democratic Party. With the combined support of the Democratic Party and the National Party, de Klerk could muster the votes of three-fourths of the South African Parliament.

Mandela brought most of the African National Congress (ANC) along with him in a moderate direction. He made it clear upon his release from prison that, as a negotiator, he would follow ANC orders. But while he kept in contact with the ANC executive committee throughout the negotiations, he secured the latitude required for productive negotiations. He successfully isolated those in the organization who opposed negotiations and the renunciation of the use of armed force.

Negotiations continued for three years, with their ups and downs, arguments, and disputes. But in December 1992, a major compromise was reached in secret bilateral talks between Mandela and de Klerk. The National Party's insistence on power-sharing was met with the provision for a five-year government of national unity based on proportional representation in the government. But the ANC's desire for majority rule was also respected in the agreement that, after five years of power-sharing, simple majority rule would go into effect.

The agreement was announced on February 12, 1993, and in May, a multiparty forum resolved to hold an election based on universal suffrage. In the spring of 1994, that election was held. De Klerk became president and Nelson Mandela his deputy president (Deegan, 2011). While international observers recognized that campaigning by all political parties was not possible in large parts of the country—in part due to a post-conflict environment—the Independent Electoral Commission pronounced the conduct of the elections generally free and fair.

Pan-African on the World Stage

While the origins of Pan-Africanism came from countries primarily in Africa, the first efforts to bring together the international advocates of African unity and independence took place outside the continent (Esedebe, 1982). In 1893, Chicago hosted the Congress on Africa, which was followed by the establishment of the African Association in London in 1897. Both gatherings led to a series of other conferences and meetings, large and small, which had the effect of institutionalizing the movement (Murithi, 2005). One of the most important of these meetings was the Pan-African Conference that was held in London in 1900 under the leadership of a Trinidadian, Henry Silvester Williams. The theme of the conference was two-fold: strengthening the unity of all those of African descent and liberating Africa from the grip of colonization by imperial powers.

The London Conference established a new organization called the Pan-African Association (PAA), which aimed at encouraging friendly relations between Africans and Caucasians and promoting the educational, industrial, and commercial interests of Africans. A primary concern was the need to push for legislation to combat the oppression of black people not only in the British Empire but also in other countries around the world. The targets of racial discrimination included Britain and the United States. The American participants of the London Conference, among them W.E.B. Du Bois were themselves especially wary of American power and its reach. They, therefore, stressed the need to agitate for the social and political rights denied to Africans in America and elsewhere.

Racism was indeed an international misery, affecting whole populations of people like Frederick Douglass, an African American-born slave in Maryland in 1818. Because of his angry response to mistreatment, he was hired out as a professional slave-breaker. The cruelty he endured then and later only hardened his resistance to slavery when he successively gained, lost, and regained freedom.

Pan-Africa's Shift in Emphasis

The term "Pan-Africanism"—the same term but with more nationalist nuances in Africa itself—gained a renewed momentum in the 1950s from the growing independence movement. In a conference held in Accra, Ghana, in 1958, shortly after Ghana gained independence, Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah laid out plans for a final assault on imperial colonialism (Nkrumah, 1962). According to Nkrumah, the realization of Pan-Africa demanded a total commitment of African leaders and people to guide their countries through a process beginning with the attainment and consolidation of freedom and independence. Only then could African states attain continental unity. Nkrumah wanted Ghana to lead the way, coordinating the process of Africa's decolonization, followed by the economic and social reconstruction desired by the people of Africa. By strategically guiding Africa's collective action, Ghana hoped to pave the way for international recognition of Africa's place on the world stage (Jinadu, 2008).

At the time, the prime minister of sub-Saharan Africa's first country to gain independence from British rule, Ghana, had more immediate concerns than a global Pan-African one. Although he voiced support for the Pan-African movement and the diaspora, it was a guarded endorsement. His main effort was the liberation of all African countries. Throughout his life, Nkrumah called for African solidarity, but that fell short of a commitment to unifying all blacks worldwide. Leading African heads of state paid lip service to the ideals of Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, and W.E.B. Du Bois, who, as fellow activists and confidants in Britain and America, had earlier inspired Nkrumah. The shared ideals and national priorities had undergone a sea of change. African independence and continental unification became the immediate goals of Africa's political leaders.

Pan-Africa and the New Women's Movements

The women's movements of the 1990s were distinct from women's mobilization in the early post-independence period in several important ways. They were generally autonomous from the ruling party and state (Tripp et al., 2009). The women's organizations selected their leaders and adopted broader agendas than in the past. Their funding sources were novel in that they were independent of state patronage networks, which were characteristic of previous women's organizations. The strategy coincided with changes in the 1980s and 1990s in donor funding patterns that favoured non-governmental organizations (NGOs). While many of the transnational women's organizations date from the colonial period, the new organizations are largely based in Africa, founded in Africa, and run by Africans. Most of the British and US-based organizations have strong linkages with African and diaspora-based associations, although, on occasion, they give rise to competition with each other for donor funding, a source of tension between diaspora-driven agendas and those coming out of Africa itself.

Several factors contributed to the emergence of new movements in the 1980s and 1990s. These included the international influences and the profusion of ideas and strategies across the continent regarding women's rights. A new generation of independent organizations appeared after the 1985 United Nations women's conference in Nairobi. It was the first time that so many women came together from across the world, with over half of some 13,500 registered attendees coming from the global South and Africa (Antrobus, 2004). Examples of the 1980s organizations included Women in Nigeria, Uganda's Action for Development, the Association of Media Women in Kenya, and Tanzania's Media Women's Association (TAMWA).

Women's mobilization in the political arena gained prominence with the emergence of multiparty systems under which new women's organizations flourished. Through demonstrations and other civic activism, women aggressively sought participation in political affairs and championed reform and the end of public corruption. The government's response was frequently repressive in many countries—Mali, Niger, Chad, Mauritania, and Togo, among others. Nonetheless, but women fought back, and their voices grew stronger. In 1990, in Conakry, Guinea, women organized a sit-in in front of the presidential palace in support of a general strike of workers and a students' demonstration to protest the government's responsibility for the economic crisis. In the early 1990s, Wangari Maathai, the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize winner, led the Kenyan Greenbelt Movement (GBM), one of Africa's most successful environmental movements. The movement was mainly the aggressive endeavour of human rights activists. Women were again among the principal opponents of violence against women in Zimbabwe when they voiced their concerns over the country's political and economic crisis. Margaret Dongo was an especially courageous combatant against the civil rights abuses of Robert Mugabe, who had turned away from his earlier rhetoric on the rights of women. Dongo faced death threats and attacks in her home but persevered in her resistance to tyranny (Tripp et al., 2009).

An international conference of greater worldwide significance than the Nairobi women's conference ten years earlier was the 1995 United Nations Conference for Women in Beijing, which adopted a Platform of Action seeking to ensure women's equal participation in all forms of "power structures and decision-making" in the political arena. In sub-Saharan Africa, during the run-up to the Beijing conference, there were uneven attempts to promote women's participation in state legislatures. Ghana's Convention People's Party had a provision for the election of more women to parliament, where women already held 10 percent of the seats. By 1965, 19 women held seats in a legislature of 104 members, although this number declined the following year. Tanzania reserved 15 legislative seats for women. Senegal's PartiSocialiste announced in 1982 that it would reserve a quarter of its seats for women. Uganda adopted reserved seats for one woman in each district in 1989. But a major change occurred between 1995 and 2005, when 23 countries adopted quotas, bringing the ratio of countries implementing quotas to 24 percent out of a total of 48 sub-Saharan African countries (Tripp et al., 2009).

For women's organizations, the 1990s witnessed a shift in donor attitudes, away from predominantly economic concerns to social issues such as education, health, and welfare, with an added interest in women's rights advocacy. This was held not only in the purely philanthropic international community but also among businesspeople and profit-making enterprises.

At the heart of social finance are the betterment of communities and the improvement of living standards in developing countries. Part of this is an emphasis on impact investment—the use of for-profit investment to address social and environmental problems (Jones, 2010). Among other international charitable trusts, the Ford Foundation has funded organizations involved in advocacy for gender equality clauses in constitutions undergoing revision. Donors like the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (Oxfam) have supported nonpartisan activities for legislation regarding women's land ownership, marriage, and inheritance.

A survey by the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) of 401 gender-based organizations worldwide, including 94 from Africa, found that the largest number (39 percent) in Africa had been formed between 1990 and 1999, and another 32 percent of African respondents said the easiest areas to obtain funding were health concerns related to AIDS, gender-based violence, and civic/political rights and participation (Tripp et al., 2009).

To sum up, the women's organizations of the 1990s illustrated the ideals of African unity combined with a renewed commitment to autonomy. Theirs was a movement to secure human rights, self-government, independence, and unity for all African peoples. Paradoxically, the new women's organizations hark back to one of the earliest Pan Africanists, Ami Ashwood Garvey, a Jamaican suffragette with a worldview in the male dominated society of her day (Hakim& Sherwood, 2003). In its original form, Pan-Africanism had a wider scope than the geographic continent and encompassed the African diaspora and descendants worldwide. So did African women's organizations, which held onto the vision of an Africa free and united.

II. CONCLUSION

Pan-Africanism is a worldwide movement, an ideology, and a geopolitical project for liberating and uniting African people and the African diaspora around the world (Adetula, et. al., 2020). It aimed to encourage and strengthen bonds of solidarity between all indigenous and diaspora ethnic groups of African descent. The pan-African movement was the catalyst for the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (now the African Union) in 1963. Pan-Africanism is dedicated to establishing the independence of African nations and cultivating unity among black people throughout the world. It originated in conferences held in London (1900, 1919, 1921, and 1923) and other cities. W.E.B. Du Bois was a principal early leader.

The important sixth Pan-African conference (Manchester, 1945) included Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah. The first truly intergovernmental conference was held in Accra, Ghana, in 1958, where Patrice Lumumba was a key speaker. The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) was founded by Robert M. Sobukwe and others in South Africa

in 1959 as a political alternative to the African National Congress, which was contaminated by non-African influences.

The founding of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now the African Union (AU) by Julius Nyerere, Haile Selassie, and others in 1963 was a huge milestone. The OAU soon became the most important Pan-Africanist organization (Nyerere, 1968). The organization laid the foundation for the establishment of the African Union and African Unity, which acted as a catalyst for the formation of the African Union and the political stability of Africa. Meanwhile, two important regional organizations the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) were established along the ideals of Pan Africanism to promote free access to commodities, goods, and services across the continent (Adetula, et al., 2020). NEPAD offered a new approach to addressing traditional development issues by linking concepts like poverty alleviation to political issues such as democracy and government corruption. Three regional economic communities (RECs), that are recognized by the African Union as the key building blocks of a united Africa, were also established - the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African Community (EAC) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Although one of the main objectives of Pan-Africanism, decolonization, has been achieved, the need for African unity remains elusive.

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